



Murād II and the Passion for Rūmī: A Portion of Bidlīsī's Hasht Bihisht VI*

*II. Murād ve Mevlânâ Tutkusu: İdrîs-i Bitlisî'nin
Heşt Bihîşt İsimli Eserinin VI. Kitabından Bir Bölüm*

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Abstract

Born in Balkh, sufi poet Mawlânâ Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî presents one of the most extensive and vigorous Islamic theories of toleration. This brief note examines the impact of Rûmî's theory on Murād II by placing it in its fifteenth century Ottoman historical context. It also provides a critical edition of a portion of İdrîs Bidlīsī's unpublished *Hasht Bihisht VI*, a sixteenth century Ottoman chronicle which is dedicated to the reign of Murād II.

Keywords: Murād II, Jalâl al-Dîn Rûmî, *Hasht Bihisht VI*, İdrîs Bidlīsī, Ottoman, Persian, Sufism

Öz

Belh'te doğan sufi şâir Mevlânâ Celâleddîn Rûmî, İslâm hoşgörü geleneğinin en kapsamlı ve sağlam örneklerinden birini temsil eder. Bu kısa çalışma, Rûmî'nin hoşgörü anlayışını, 15. yüzyıl Osmanlı tarihi bağlamına yerleştirerek II. Murād üzerindeki etkisini incelemektedir. Çalışma, aynı zamanda, Murād dönemine ithaf edilen 16. yüzyıl Osmanlı vakâyinâmelerinden biri olan İdrîs-i Bitlisî'nin yayımlanmamış *Heşt Bihîşt*'inin VI. kitabından bir kısmın tenkitli neşrini de sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: II. Murād, Celâleddîn Rûmî, *Heşt Bihîşt VI*, İdrîs-i Bitlisî, Osmanlı, İran, sufizm.

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Introduction

Idrīs Bidlīsī (1457-1520) was a prominent scholar and statesman who wrote extensively on Islamic Sufism, theology, *ḥadīth*, poetry, and history. Idrīs' magnum opus, named *Hasht Bihisht* (The Eight Paradises), chronicles the reigns of the first eight Ottoman sultans, ending with Bāyezīd II (1481-1512), for whom the author served as an administrator.¹ Book VI of this wide political and social history deals with the reign of Murād II (1421-1444, 1446-1451). It contains tangential and sometimes very important information about aspects of politics, religion and culture under Murād II, including those written by earlier Ottoman historians.²

The corpus of *Hasht Bihisht* literature is vast, often likened by its students to an ocean. It is impossible to do justice to the complexities of this literature in one brief note. The best that I hope to accomplish here is to provide some textual guidance to the Sufi interests of Murād II. But before we concentrate on a portion of Book VI, it is useful to mention a few points about Murād II's character, especially because it helps to understand what is given in the following critical edition.

Laonikos Chalkokondyles, in his *The Histories*, includes the following passage in the section dealing with the obituary of Murād II which is by far the most positive:

He had been a just man and favored by fortune. He had fought in defense and did not initiate acts of aggression, but he

- 1 For a biography of Idrīs and his works, see Vural Genç, *Acem'den Rum'a Bir Bürokrat ve Tarihçi: İdris-i Bidlīsī (1457-1520)*, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2019), chs.i-ii, passim.
- 2 For the reign of Murād II, see Oruç b. Âdil, *Tevârîh-i Âl-i Osman (Die frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch)*, ed. F. Babinger, (Hannover: Orient-Buchhandlung Heinz Lafaire, 1925), 18, 51-53, 114; Anon. *Gazavât-ı Sultân Murâd b. Mehmed Hân*, eds. H. İnalcık and M. Oğuz, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989).

would immediately march against the one who did. If no-one challenged him to war, he was not eager to campaign; yet he did not shrink from that when it came to it (7.63).³

The Byzantine context in which this passage appears in Chalkokondyles' book suggests that Murād II had the picture of an ideal monarch, not a "barbarian" in the negative sense, and it was probably meant as a contrast to the current one, Mehmed the Conqueror, "the cruel". He also speaks there about Murād II and his epic battles which "brought glory to his rule" (5.35).⁴

The Byzantines often spoke unfavorably of the Ottomans. The clash between these two empires can be seen in several critical statements on the reliability, legitimacy, and cruelty of the other side. It is very important that "an enemy", that is Chalkokondyles, observed that Murād II is credited with having been the first Ottoman sultan to combine justice and bravery into a single character. It is also interesting that he addressed Murād II as a peaceful sultan who "did not initiate acts of aggression". This part of this Greek analysis can easily be corroborated by further conclusions including Murād II's tolerance and compassion.

Murād II had personally a very interesting character. He is also presented in the history of the Byzantine Greek historian Dukas who flourished under Constantine XI Palaiologos, the last Byzantine Emperor, as a very special person. He was special because, in his role as sultan, he was held to be sober, tolerant, and

- 3 See Laonikos Chalkokondyles, *The Histories*, translated by Anthony Kaldellis, (Cambridge: Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014), ii, 159-160.
- 4 See Anthony Kaldellis, *A New Herodotos: Laonikos Chalkokondyles on the Ottoman Empire, the Fall of Byzantine, and the Emergence of the West*, (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2014), 161.

discreet. This he did by helping the Byzantine people and by helping to bring about a state of affairs in which order was adequate to virtue.⁵

It is also interesting that after several years in the Ottoman court that saw the conclusion to the Ottoman victorious involvement in the Byzantine war and the establishment of several pious foundations, Murād II became one of the earliest sultans to resign from the office, facing no opposition and no rival or removal from office. It is surprising that Murād II, while his predecessors and contemporary successors who remain in 'democratic' power for several decades, decided to say that "I am not a sultan anymore."

Of course, some historical narratives should not be ignored as well. For instance, Murād II was very sad because of the death of his beloved son and did not want to continue the reign. The demand of the Janissaries and their interests in Murād II is perhaps another reference to his special good behavior. In 1444, when he decided to his abdication, the Janissaries revolted against his son requesting Murād II's return to the throne (September 1446).⁶ Where did Murād II get these positive epithets and popularity? How was accepted by his friends and praised by his enemies? What is clear is that the Grand Vizier Çandarlı Halil Pasha, for the same reason probably, called Murād II back and deposed the teenaged Mehmed II to replace him with his more popular father.⁷

5 See for instance Dukas, *Chronographia: Byzantiner und Osmanen im Kampf um die Macht und das Überleben (1341-1462)*, ed. and trans. Diether Reinsch, in collaboration with Ljuba H. Reinsch-Werner, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), 405, passim.

6 For these, see Feridun M. Emecen, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluş ve Yükseliş Tarihi (1300-1600)*, (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2015), 121-129; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Sultan II. Murad Hükümdarlığı, Fetihleri ve Haçlılarla Mücadelesi*, (İstanbul: Kronik Kitap, 2021).

7 See Franz Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine*

In the Ottoman Empire, the 'ulemā' occupied a very important place among the appropriate model of faith and pious tradition. They were viewed as the successors of the Prophet and the guardians of the holy law. A fair number of 'ulemā' were also operating Sufis whom the sultans respected.⁸ For Murād II, they were more than that.

It is possible to imagine that many Sufis have been noticed by Murād II. According to what is available, however, we can say that Rūmī (d. 1273) was one of the most important of them, who probably played a greater role in Murād II's life. For decades, Rūmī was one of the most celebrated Sufi poets in the Ottoman world, which at the time of Murād II extended from eastern Anatolia to the borders of Greece.⁹ In addition to his literary impact, no other Sufi poet has probably had the same influence over the spiritual aspects of Murād II's life, and it seems that the concept of toleration in Rūmī's writings have found its way even in his political reactions.

The primary and exclusive concern of some Byzantine defenders of Murād II's toleration was only his generous behavior regarding the Christians, and not Muslims (where a clue of Sultan's passion for Rūmī is evident). Given the extent and intensity of conflicts between Murād II and his brother-in-law, this toleration of Rūmī is understandable. In his Book VI of *Hasht Bihisht*, Idrīs Bidlīsī refers to Karamanoğlu İbrahim (d. 1454), a brother-

Zeit: Weltstürmer einer Zeitenwende, (München: F. Bruckmann, 1959), 40ff.

8 See Madeline C. Zilfi, "The Ottoman ulema", in *The Cambridge History of Turkey (Volume 3): The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 215.

9 See for instance Jamal J. Elias, "Sufism and Islamic Identity in Jalaluddin Rumi's Anatolia", in *Light Upon Lights: A Festschrift pre-sented to Gerhard Bowering by His Students*, eds. Jamal J. Elias and Bilal Orfali (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 291-315.

in-law of Murād II, who revolted against the Empire and was linked to the enemies of Murād II. Of utmost importance is the effort of Karamanoğlu İbrahim and his wife, a “beloved sister” of Murad II, who tried to gain his mercy by a descendant (*nabīra*) of the Sufi poet Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. As a matter of fact, the passion of Sultan for Rūmī was clearly his well-known characteristic, as is shown by political efforts to acquire his forgiveness by a Mawlavī Sufi who was also a later relative of Rūmī. Thus, Idrīs indirectly clarified, adherents to Mawlavīyya of those who are close to the descendants of Rūmī should be tolerated.¹⁰

As another sample of Murād II’s closeness to the Sufis, it is known that he rebuilt the Hacı Bektaş Lodge, which was first built by Murād I, and spent a large amount of gold for it.¹¹ In other words, Murād II had a passion or at least an interest not only in Rūmī, but also in those who were close to the worldview of Rūmī.

It is also possible to show that Murād II’s Rūmī and Mawlavīyya notions, more particularly as expressed in the following text, can be linked with some Turkish translations of Persian classical poetry in which Ottoman poets and writers praise Mūrād II as a patron who is appreciative of the works of men of letters and artists.¹² However, to examine them

in a systematic manner would require more than one article. Thus, I shall limit myself to the case of Mûînîddîn ibn Mustafa and his work. A *mürîd* of Mawlavīyya himself, Mûînî translated and commented on Rūmī’s *Mathnavī* and dedicated it to Murād II in 1436. Within the circle of the classical and early modern authors, one sometimes discovers important allusions to the doctrines, and this is perhaps some part of the ‘incoherence’ to which the title of Mûînî’s translation and commentary, that is *Mesnevî-i Murâdî* or *Murâdiyye*, refers.¹³ This suffices for the purposes of the argument here to show that Murād II, as a fond reader of Rūmī’s writings, clearly enjoyed several moral teachings of Mawlavīyya, and that obviously some of them enabled a coherent and satisfactory answer to “the hostile reports” in which the toleration of Sultan is highlighted.

Edition, Manuscripts Used, and Translation

Beside great intricacy, if we had no idea which parts of the following portion was poetry or prose, we would regard it as our first job to find out. The question of how much of this Persian prose is rhythmic has excited less attention; and yet it should greatly affect both our reading of the text and our understanding of the whole literary scene. In brief, Idrīs’ style and his works have not on the whole been greatly appreciated, and the question

whose own works included several Turkic loanwords. See M. Şerefeddin Yaltkaya, “Mevlana’da Türkçe Kelimeler ve Türkçe Şiirler”, *Journal of Turkology* 4 (1934): 112-168; Maḥmūd ‘Ābidī & Badrīya Qavāmī, “Kalamāt-i Turkī (Turkī-yi Muḡulī va ‘Oṭmānī) dar Ghazalīyāt-i Mawlavī”, *Āīna-yi Mīrāth* 60 (2018): 11-30.

10 See Idrīs ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn Bidlīsī, *Hasht Bihisht*, (İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Esad Efendi 2199, fol.345v). As far as I know, Idrīs refers to Rūmī (as Mawlā-yi Rūm) at least once more in his account on the saints of Konya, *ibid.*, fol.370v.

11 See Hamid Zübeyr, “Hacı Bektaş Tekyesi”, *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 2 (1928): 376.

12 On the literary history of this century, the sources translated, etc., see Murat Umut Inan, “Imperial Patronage of Literature in the Ottoman World, 1400–1600”, *The Empires of the Near East and India: Source Studies of the Safavid, Ottoman, and Mughal Literate Communities*, ed. H. Khafipour, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), 493-504. To be sure, as an Ottoman language the use of Turkish continued by Mawlavīyya, but clearly Persian was more widespread as the literary language of Rūmī

13 See Kemal Yavuz, *Mûînî’nin Mesnevî-i Murâdiyyesi* (PhD dissertation, İstanbul University, 1977), i, xiv-xxi, xxii-xxxiv, *passim*; Mustafa Kara, *Sultan II. Murad’a Sunulan Bir Mesnevî Şerhi*, “Sultan II. Murad ve Dönemi”, (Bursa: Gaye Kitabevi, 2015), 101, *passim*.

whether he is rhythmic has never been considered to my knowledge. Unfortunately, the writer's block that plagues most academics has something to do with its intricacy. It is true that even when we have a detailed outline, know what Idrīs wanted to say, and have the citations bookmarked, we always struggle to turn the outline into a full draft. His style of writing is sophisticated but it is his style and should be respected. Idrīs should not be blamed for that.

The *Hasht Bihisht* was the most detailed dynastic Ottoman history written up to then. Based on the huge number of manuscripts that were distributed as far afield as Eastern Europe and India, his history found a wide range of readers in Ottoman Empire, Iran and Indian sub-continental areas.¹⁴ The following edition relies primarily on the most authoritative autograph manuscript Esad Efendi 2199, produced in 1506;¹⁵ but also consistently cites readings in the so-called 'reliable' group of manuscripts: Nuruosmaniye 3209 (dated 1513-1514), Hazine 1655 (dated c.1520), and Tabriz 1874 (dated 1560).¹⁶

This portion divides into two "characters", the first of which deals with some Sufi aspects of interaction and psychological sensations which are not within the expressive capacity of languages, while the second, not only treats

Sufi expressions, but also issues of architectural demonstration and indirect historical facts. Both are extremely sophisticated.

I am in a position to add that- at least a part of- Idrīs' wordings consist of, or are inspired by technical terms, taken from other Sufi writings. Although I have only undertaken a rather preliminary examination of the possible sources of this portion, I can declare with confidence that Idrīs, when exposing the views of the Mawlavīyya, has made use in two number of cases of Rūmī verse formulations, derived from *Mathnavī*. In the present portion, Rūmī's poetry, Qur'ānic verses and *ḥadīths* related to Sufism, and Arabic verse function as the main sources of Idrīs. However, he also mentions two quotations from the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1390), whose poems are regarded by some scholars as a pinnacle of Persian Sufi literature.

Discussion of Murād II's Rūmī interests by Idrīs is given in the Story XXIII where he is describing his architectural projects in Edirne (entitled, *tarḥ-i imārat-i avvāb-i l-barri sulṭānī ka ḥāvī bar aṣnāf-i ḥasana dar shahr-i jahān ārā-yi Edirne ast*). In all sections in this translation, the text used is that of my own edition. The following portion has a rich technical vocabulary. To understand this terminology, it is necessary to have some grasp of these terms and their semantic associations, and there is no other way to do this than to observe how they are used. I make some of the uses of these terms in the translation itself by giving the transliterated forms in parenthesis. This allows the Persianless reader to recognize occurrences of the same term, regardless of the form used in the specific context at hand. My policy here is sure to leave everyone a bit dejected. Reader of Persian, for instance, will find it jarring to read some nouns where the plural forms are followed by the singular forms of

14 On these manuscripts, especially those kept in Turkey, see Koji Imazawa, "İdris Bitlisi'nin Heşt Bihışt'inin İki Tip Nüshası Üzerine Bir İnceleme", *Belleten* 69 (2005): 859-896; Mehrdad Fallahzadeh, "The Eight Paradises (the Hasht Bihisht) and the Question of the Existence of Its Autographs", *Der Islam* 91, 2 (2014): 374-409.

15 See Bidlīsī, fols.369r.-370r., where the original base text is given.

16 For these, see Idrīs ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn. *Hasht Bihisht Bidlīsī*, (İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Nuruosmaniye 3209, fols.329v.-330v.); idem. *Hasht Bihisht*, (İstanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Hazine 1655, fols.365r.-366r.); and idem. *Hasht Bihisht*, (Tabriz, Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-yi Tabriz, Majmū'a-yi H. Hussein Nakhdjvani, 1874, fols.278v.-279r).

the Persian noun. Equally, Persianless readers are liable to be puzzled by the differences between some forms. But policies that leave all parties somewhat dejected are the best compromises.

...آن سلطان مظهر¹⁷ خیر و احسان اگرچه در صورت¹⁸ خسرو کشور مراد بوده ولیکن در معنی¹⁹ مرید صادق الاعتقاد آن قطب اوتاد و غوث افراد بوده²⁰ که فی الحقیقه او سلطان ولایت ولایت است²¹ در کشور روم و خداوندگار اهل حق و یقین است در ممالک معارف و علوم: اعنی خسرو عاشقان ملک توحید و پیشرو سالکان مناہج تجرید و تفرید²²، مست باده محبت قیومی، مولانا جلال الدین²³ محمد رومی (قَدَسَ اللهُ سِرَّهُ وَ اَفَاصَ عَلَيْنَا بَرَّهُ). نظم²⁴: “حق همی گوید²⁵ که دیوار بهشت / نیست چون دیوارها بی جان و زشت / زنده باشد خانه چون شاهنشاهی است / چون در و دیوار تن با آگهی است / زآنکه جنت را نه زآلت²⁶ بسته اند / بلکه از اعمال و نیت بسته اند / آن باصل خویش ماند پر خلل / و آن²⁷ باصل خود که علمست و عمل”. و همواره جمعیتی از مستان و مریدان آن حضرت در ایام جمعات جهت استفاده کتاب مثنوی معنوی میفرموده²⁸. و درین بقعه بنا بر انعقاد جمعیت اهل دل²⁹ مسجد جامعی در غایت تزیین و صفا انشاء نموده. زیب³⁰ ظاهر سطوح و جدران و در و بام آن چون جمعیت باطن اولیا و سقف بیت المعمورست.³¹ و زینت باطن آن جامع³² چون رتبت سلطنت

17 مصدر. N 3209, H 1655, T 1874

18 بصورت; T 1874 بصورت. N 3209, H 1655

19 بود ولیکن; H 1655, T 1874 بود ولیکن N 3209

20 غوث T 1874; غوث ابدال و افرادی فرموده N 3209, H 1655

ابدال و افراد می رفته.

21 سلطان ولایت ولایت روم است. N 3209, T 1874

22 تفرید و تجرید. N 3209, H 1655, T 1874

23 مولانا جلال الحق و الدین. N 3209, H 1655, T 1874

24 Missing in EE 2199. H 1655, T 1874 بیت . Based on N 3209.

25 بنمیکوید. H 1655

26 نه آلت. T 1874

27 وین. N 3209, H 1655, T 1874

28 و مقصد باعث بر توجه سلطان بانشاء این N 3209, T 1874 عمارات و داعی بر احداث این رقیبات پر خیرات آنکه خود را مرتبط بسلسله محبت و ارادت نهانی حضرت مولوی نموده: H 1655 و مقصد باعث سلطان بانشاء این عمارات و داعی بر احداث این رقیبات بر خیرات آنکه خود را مرتبط بسلسله محبت و ارادت نهانی حضرت مولوی نموده.

29 اهل اعتقاد. N 3209, H 1655, T 1874

30 انشا فرموده که H 1655; افشا فرموده که زیب N 3209 انشا فرموده که زیب T 1874; زیب

31 بیت المعمور است. N 3209, T 1874

32 مسجد. N 3209, H 1655, T 1874

ظاهری بانی³³ در آیین جهانیانی نادره اعوام³⁴ و شهروست. و این مسجد³⁵ پر صفا بلسان³⁶ حال در عالم صورت از روی زیبایی و بی مثالی اخبار و اشعار بتوحید حضرت ایزد متعال³⁷ دارد. و در کشور معنی بدعی “الظاهر عُنْوَانِ الْبَاطِنِ” جمعیت جامعیت و جمعیت دل موخدان بر جندین بیت اکرام و مسجد اقصی اشتمال دارد.³⁸ بیت³⁹: “چون سلیمان کرده آغاز بنا / پاک چون کعبه همایون چون منا / هم درخت و میوه هم آب زلال / با بهشتی در حدیث و در مقال”. اما وصف ظاهری آن مسجد آنکه زیب و رعنائی⁴⁰ درون و بیرونش از الوان کاشی کاری منقوش است. و بطریقه عمارات و ابنیه ملک عجم⁴¹ منار بر انوار و سطوح بسطان و کتابهای ارکان آن همگی کاشیهای موش و موشی بنقوش است.⁴² و در میان صحن و فضای بنایش و در جملگی ارکان و اساس میانش سنگهای از جام تراشیده مفروش⁴³. و در عین بقعه باین بلند پایگی همیشه فوارها از چشمه کھساری بر مثال چشمه سار خورشید در فوران و جوش⁴⁴. و جماعت خانه و سماع خانه، بقعه دیگر همولوی خانه معروفست.⁴⁵

H 1655, T 1874, N 3209; چون زینت سلطنت ظاهری بانی 33
چون زینت سلطنت بانی 1655

34 عوام. H 1655

35 بقیعه. N 3209, H 1655, T 1874

36 بزبان. N 3209, H 1655, T 1874

37 حضرت معبود بی زوال N 3209, H 1655, T 1874

38 در جامعیت و جمعیت دلهای موخدان از تفرقه N 3209
اشراک بر ضدین بیت الحرام و مسجد اقصی اشتمال دارد
در جامعیت و جمعیت دلهای موخدان از تفرقه H 1655
اشراک بر جندین بیت الحرام و مسجد اقصی اشتمال دارد
در جامعیت و جمعیت دلهای موخدان از تفرقه T 1874
اشراک بر چندین بیت الحرام و مسجد اقصی اشتمال دارد

39 شعر. N 3209, H 1655

40 رعونت. N 3209, H 1655, T 1874

41 و بطریقه مبنایی پر تکلف N 3209, H 1655, T 1874
ملک عجم

42 منار پر انوار و سطوح جدران و پایهای ارکان N 3209
H 1655; همگی کاشی تراشیده موشی بهر کونه نقوش است
منار بر انوار و سطوح جدران و پایهای ارکان همگی کاشی
منار پر T 1874; تراشیده موشی بهر کونه نقوش است
انوار و سطوح جدران و پایهای ارکان همگی کاشی تراشیده
موشی ز هر کونه نقوش است

43 و در میان صحن و فضای بنایش و در N 3209, T 1874
جملگی اساسهای میانش سنگهای رخام تراشیده مفروش است
و در جملگی اساسهای میانش سنگهای تراشیده H 1655
مفروش است

44 در عین بقعه بان بلند پایگی همیشه فوارهای آب N 3209
خوشکوار از چشمهای کھسار بر مثال چشمه سار خورشید در
در عین بقعه بان بلند پایگی H 1655; فوران و جوش است
همیشه فوارهای آب خوشکوار از چشمهای کھسار مثال سار
در عین بقعه بان T 1874; خورشید در فوران و جوش است
بلند پایگی همیشه فوارهای آب خوشکوار از چشمهای کھسار
بر مثال چشمه سار خورشید در فوران و بر جوش است

45 و از کمال انس الفت آن مساکن منام و مامن طیور و N 3209
وحوش است و درین میان جماعت خانه جهت حضور و سماع و
H 1655, T 1874; خانقاهی منتسب بدرویشان حضرت مولوی
و از کمال انس و الفت آن مساکن منام و مامن طیور و وحوش
است و درین میان جماعت خانه جهت حضور و سماع و خانقاهی
منتسب بدرویشان حضرت مولوی

و از اطراف مشتمل بر مناظر و غرفه های رفیع. و رفوف بیرونش در روح و صفا تمثالی است از مجمع ارواح در عالم قدس. و درونش چون شبستان اهل حق منور از شمع محبت و انس. از هر جانب روزنها و نظرگاهش چون اعیان اولی الابصار بر مناظر اهل شهر ناظر. و در غرفه هایی با نزهت و بهاش باد صبا و شمال با اخوان صفا و ارباب وفا در وجد و سماع حاضر.⁴⁶ بیت: “ای قصر دل افروز که منزلگه انسی / یارب مکناد⁴⁷ آفت ایام خرابت.” در هر جمعه عقد جمعیتی درین سماع خانه بهم آید⁴⁸ لیکن حاکی از عقود طره خوبان در غایت ارتباط و التیام. و در دست افشانی و سماع اهل وجد و حال آن مجمع ارباب کمال اشارتها باشد برهنمونی “اَدْخُلُوْهَا بِسَلَامٍ.” در آن محفل همیشه اهل دل را اذان اذعان بر صوت و نوای “وَرَتَّلِ الْقُرْآنَ تَرْتِيْلًا” ست.⁴⁹ و اصحاب صفه⁵⁰ صفا را در آنجا گوش هوش بر صدای عاشقانه⁵¹ “طَرَفُوْا طَرَفُوْا اِلَى الْمَوْلَى.” نظم⁵²: “قصر فردوس که رضوانش بدربانی رفت / منظری از چمن نزهت⁵³ درویشان است.” و نشانه قبول این خیر و احسان سلطان و علامت قوت روحانیت مرید و مراد در آن بقعه موخدان آنکه از پرتو عشق حضرت مولوی⁵⁴ و برکت شوق انگیزی ابیات مثنوی همیشه در حین مجلسی خاص و محفلی غاص⁵⁵ خواص در آن بقعه انعقاد می یابد. و پرتو انوار عالم قدس از بواطن اهل حال در آن انجمن بر دیده بینایان می تابد.⁵⁶ و چون هر جمعه بقرار آداء فریضه جماعت نماز جمعیت تمام از ارباب کمال و صحبتی از اصحاب حسن و جمال در آن نشیمن قدسی موطن بنوعی انعقاد می پذیرد که در

جهت محفل اجتماع هر طرفش مشتمل N 3209, T 1874
 بر مناظر و غرفه های رفیع و رفوف و هر کس که بانجا رسد خاطرش بدخول آن مجمع انس مشعوف بیرون بنای آن در روح و صفا تمثالی است از مجامع ارواح مجردان عالم قدس و درونش همچو شبستان خرقة اهل مراقبه منور از شمع محبت و انس از هر طرف روزنها و نظرگاهش چون اعیان اولی الابصار بر مناظر با نزهت آن کشور ناظر است و در غرفه های با روح و بهایش باد صبا و شمال با اخوان صفاء و اهل وفا در جهت محفل اجتماع هر H 1655 وجود و سماع حاضر است طرفش مشتمل بر مناظر و غرفه های رفیع و رفوف و هر کس که بانجا رسد خاطرش بدخول آن مجمع انس مشعوف بیرون بنای آن در روح و صفا تمثالی است از مجامع ارواح مجردان عالم قدس و درونش همچو شبستان خرقة اهل مراقبه منور از شمع محبت و انس از هر طرف روزنها و نظرگاهش چون اعیان اولی الابصار بر مناظر با نزهت آن کشور ناظر است و در غرفه های با روح و بهایش باد صبا و شمال با اخوان صفاء و اهل وفا در وجود و سماع حاضر است.

47 EE 2199. Based on N 3209, H 1655, and T 1874.

48 در هر روز جمعه بعد از آداء جمعات N 3209, T 1874
 در هر روز H 1655 جمعیتی درین جماعت خانه بهم می آید جمعه بعد از آداء جمعات جمعیتی درین جماعت خانه بهم می آید.

49 است. N 3209, H 1655, T 1874.

50 صفحه H 1655.

51 بر صدای عاشقانه مصرع N 3209.

52 بیت. N 3209, T 1874.

53 EE 2199. Based on N 3209, H 1655, and T 1874.

54 آنکه پرتو عشق مولوی N 3209, H 1655, T 1874.

55 مجلس خاص و محفل غاص N 3209, H 1655, T 1874.

56 می ماند H 1655.

دیده عارفان دقایق جمال تمثال و مصداق حدیث صحیح⁵⁷ “رَأَيْتُ رَبِّي فِي صُورَةِ شَبَابٍ أَمْرٍ قَطَطٌ” نمایان و حوال مینماید. و در دم انگیزه وجد و سماع از دم نی و نایی در آن مجلس پر سرور و سرود بر مثال رشته تار ممد و درود علی الاتصال امتداد نفس رحمانی⁵⁸ بسمع اصغا مسموع و غیر مقطوع است. و از صدای دف و عربانه در آن دایره اهل صفا الحان ادوار فلکی بگوش جان مرفوع و غیر ممنوع⁵⁹. و در حالت تواجد در چرخ و سماع موخدان و های و هوی عارفان مشارالیه بهویت ذاتیه ضمیر منیر همگی واجدان را محقق و معاین گردد⁶⁰. و در حین رقص سرو قدان سهی قامت رشاققت قد بلند الف احدیت را⁶¹ در دیده اهل وجدان جلوه های مطبوع در آن انجمن قدسی نشیمن باشد⁶². و در اوقات صحبت الفت و اجتماع طره معقود و زلف عنبرسای خوبان آن حلقه سماع هر دم عطر ساسی باد صبا بنفس گره گشا بوی سنبل سای⁶³ “إِنَّ لِرَبِّكُمْ فِي أَيَّامٍ دَهْرَكُمْ تَفَحَاتٌ” را⁶⁴ گشاد داده و در چرخ و وجد⁶⁵ خرقة پوشان⁶⁶ از پیراهن بران سینه چاک خروشان هر دم آه آتشبار شوق شرار سر از کریبان دهان بیرون آورده⁶⁷ بکلمه شطحی “آیس فی جُبَّتِي سَوَى اللَّهِ” ایمان صدیقان⁶⁸ را بباد داده. ملولفه: “آمد⁶⁹

جمعیت تمام آن مجمع از ارباب کمال و N 3209, H 1655
 صحبتی از اصحاب حسن و جمال در آن نشیمن قدسی موطن بنوعی انعقاد می پذیرد که در دیده عارفان دقایق جمال تمثال جمعیت T 1874; و مصداق حدیث صحیح و کشف صریح تمام آن مجمع از ارباب کمال و صحبتی از اصحاب حسن و جمال در آن نشیمن قدسی موطن بنوعی انعقاد می پذیرد که در دیده عارفان دقایق جمال تمثال و مصداق حدیث صحیح و کشف صریح.

در آن مجلس بر سرور و سرود از رشته N 3209, H 1655
 T; تار ممد و درود علی الاتصال تمثال امتداد نفس رحمانی در آن مجلس پر سرود و سرود از رشته تار ممدود 1874
 رود علی الاتصال تمثال امتداد نفس رحمانی.

غیر H 1655; غیر مقطوع است N 3209, T 1874
 ممنوع است.

و در حالت تواجد از عین چرخ و سماع N 3209, T 1874
 موخدان و های و هوی عارفان مشارالیه بهویت ذاتیه ضمیر منیر همگی واجدان بطریقه مذاق و وجدان محقق و معاین و در حالت تواجد از عین چرخ و سماع H 1655; بکردد موخدان و های و هوی عارفان مشارالیه بهویت دامنه ضمیر منیر همگی واجدان بطریقه طاق وجدان محقق و معاین کردد.

61 *rā* is missing in N 3209, H 1655 and T 1874.

62 از جلوهای مطبوع سرو چمن در آن N 3209, H 1655
 از جلوهای مطبوع سرو T 1874; انجمن قدسی نشیمن باشد چمن در آن انجمن قدس نشیمن باشد.

63 در اوقات صحبت الفت و N 3209, H 1655, T 1874
 اجتماع انجا طره معقود و زلف عنبرسای باد صبا بنفس گره گشای بوی سنبل سای.

64 *rā* is missing in EE 2199.

65 و جدران H 1655.

66 عارفان و خرقة پوشان N 3209, T 1874.

67 و از پیراهن تن عاشقان و سینه چاکان N 3209, H 1655
 خروشان مردم آه آتشبار شوق شرار سر از کریبان دهان ایشان و از پیراهن تن عاشقان و سینه چاکان T 1874; بیرون آورده خروشان هر دم آتشبار شوق شرار سر از کریبان دهان ایشان بیرون آورده.

68 صدیقان اوایه H 1655; صدیقان اوایه N 3209, T 1874.

69 EE 2199. Based on N 3209, H 1655, and T 1874.

برقص جانان کاکل گشاد داده / من چون صبا ز رقصش ایمان بباد داده.⁷⁰ و درین⁷⁰ بقعه بر سماع و صفا هر صباح و مسا نعمتهای مستوفی مرتب و مهیاست. و شهری و متوطن و مسافر و رهگذری هر گونه سفره و خوان و کاسه های طعام الوان متواصل و مودّی⁷¹، بنوعی که هر روزه مبلغ سه هزار اغچه رومی که عبارت⁷² هفتصد و پنجاه درم نقره باشد صرف مصالح طعام و ادا مدام و وظایف خدام و مرسومات علما و فقرات. و اهل وظایف بقعه از خطیب و امام اوقات خمس و⁷³ سی حافظ خوش خوان و دو معزف و معلم دارالایتام و متولی و شیخ و ناظر و سایر خدم و قوام را⁷⁴ هر ساله موازی دویست هزار درم نقره مصروف میگردد، چنانچه در بعضی اوقات که این فقیر غریب در آن بقعه نازل بود و از متولی آنجا استفسار منافع خاصه او مینمود چنان اقرار و تقریر کرد که هر روزه موازی چهار صد اغچه که یکصد درم نقره باشد بحق التولیه باو واصل میشود. اکنون معرفت اصل اوقاف و مصارف خیرات آنرا برین قیاس و تخمین قریب متقین حاصل میگردد.⁷⁵ ملولفه: همت عالی آن سلطان دین / در همین یک بقعه خیرش بین / کو همه شاهان ملک سروری / زو بیاموزند مسکین پروری....

Translation

...That Sultan, the epitome of goodness and benevolence, although he was a king, whose country is [everyone's] dream, in the [outward] form, but in the [inner] sense he was a truthful disciple of the pole of pillars⁷⁶ and the help of singular ones⁷⁷ who, in fact, is the

⁷⁰ N 3209, H 1655, T 1874 و همچنین درین

⁷¹ N 3209, H 1655, T 1874 و متوطن و شهری و مسافر و رهگذری را سفره و خوان و کاسهای طعام الوان آنجا متواصل و مودّی است.

⁷² عبارت از H 1655, T 1874.

⁷³ wa is missing in H 1655.

⁷⁴ N 3209, H 1655, T 1874 و معلم و ادیب دارالایتام و شیخ و ناظر و طبایح و فراش و سایر خدام و قوام را

⁷⁵ N 3209 و حصّه هر یک بقدر رتبت از مرسومات و روایت طعامی مقرر است بنوعی که یکصد درم نقره هر روزه رسد حق و حصّه هر یک بقدر رتبت از H 1655; التولیه متولی آنجاست مرسومات و روایت طعامی مقررست بنوعی که یکصد درم نقره و حصه T 1874; هر روزه در حق التولیه متوالی آنجاست شریک بقدر رتبت از مرسومات و روایت طعامی مقرر است بنوعی که یکصد درم نقره هر روزه رسد حق التولیه متولی آنجاست.

⁷⁶ This stands for *quṭb-i awṭād*. It is a Sufi expression for those in the esoteric mystical hierarchies of *awlīyā'* or God's intimate 'friends', whose rank is below that of a *quṭb*. In some *ḥadīths* these *awṭād* are explained, and interpreted to refer to various groups of saints. See Sayyid Ja'far Sajjādī, *Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥāt va Ta'birāt-i 'Irfānī*, (Tehran: Ṭahūrī, 2004), 641.

⁷⁷ Within the Sufi hierarchy the *ghawth* is the one per-

sultan of authority⁷⁸ of the country in the land of Rūm, and he is the lord of people of truth and certainty in the realms of knowledge and science: that is, the king of the lovers of the creation of oneness and the leader of the wayfarers⁷⁹ of the ways of isolation⁸⁰ and solitude,⁸¹ intoxicated⁸² with the wine of permanent⁸³ affection, Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Rūmī (may God sanctify his secret and make his kindness flow to us). Verse: "God saith that the wall of Paradise / is not lifeless and ugly like [other] walls / the house [Paradise] is living since it belongs to the King of kings / like the door and wall of the body, it is [endowed] with intelligence / because Paradise has not been fashioned out

son who forms the focus of God's supervision of the world in every age. 'Singular Ones' or the 'Individuals' stands for *afrād*. These men are outside of the supervision of the *quṭb*, or pole. See Sajjādī, *Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥāt va Ta'birāt-i 'Irfānī*, 610.

⁷⁸ This stands for *wilāyat* which means authority, dominion, guardianship, or supervision. What is given here is a reference to the territorial *wilāyat* of the Sufi. It was considered as having a direct influence on the political events and material destiny of the realm over which it was exercised. Thus the prosperity of the reign of Murād II might be attributed to the influence of the unbounded blessings of Rūmī. See Manūchihr Dānishpazhūh, *Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥāt-i 'Irfānī*, (Tehran: Fīrūzān, 2006), 72.

⁷⁹ The wayfarer or traveler (*sālik*) is a *murīd* in a Sufi order who has the necessary qualifications for spiritual travel from his lower self, through the various spiritual stations, to his Higher Self and Unity.

⁸⁰ The Sufi concept of *tajrīd* 'isolation' means focusing less on worldly desires and more on God. Dānishpazhūh, *Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥāt-i 'Irfānī*, 23.

⁸¹ This stands for *tafrīd*. It is the *murīd's* detaching himself from everything except the Truth which is within him.

⁸² This stands for *mast* (lit. 'drunken') which is a person who is overcome with love for God, with concomitant external disorientation resembling intoxication. See Sajjādī, *Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥāt va Ta'birāt-i 'Irfānī*, 721-722.

⁸³ The Persian adjective, *qayyūmī* 'permanent', refers to al-Qayyūm, one of the names of God in Islam. What Idrīs mentioned here is a reference to its Sufi connotation. It is a special spiritual position in Sufism, that is, a dignity upon whom the whole order of existence depends.

of [the builder's] material; nay / but it has been fashioned by action and intention / that [edifice] resembles its foundation [which is] full of defect / and that [edifice resembles] its foundation, which is knowledge and action."⁸⁴ [Murād II] always called a group of His Majesty's intoxicated and committed ones⁸⁵ to use the *Mathnavī Ma'navī* during [the Sufi] gatherings. Because of the gathering of people of heart⁸⁶ in this grave,⁸⁷ [Murād II] created a congregational mosque, with the utmost decoration and refinement, [next to it]. The external beauty of its flats, walls, door, and roof is like the inner union of saints⁸⁸ and the ceiling of the Much-Frequented House.⁸⁹ The decoration of the interior of that

mosque is like the position of apparent sultanate of the founder in the creed of kingdom of the unique [person, that is Rūmī,] for [all] the years and months. This peaceful mosque is informed and aware of the oneness of the Almighty God with the tongue of the spiritual state⁹⁰ in the realm of bodies due to its beauty and incomparability. In the realm of souls, with the claim of "the manifest is the representation of the hidden",⁹¹ the group of universality and the group of the heart of monotheists include the groups of the house of honor⁹² and the al-Aqṣā Mosque. Verse: "when Solomon began the building / holy like the Kaaba, august like Minā / both tree and fruit and limpid water [take part] / with the [inhabitant of] Paradise in conversation and discourse."⁹³ But the description of the [external] appearance of that mosque is that the beauty and high stature of its inside and outside are engraved with tiling colors. According to the style of the buildings and monuments of the land of Persia,⁹⁴ its mina-

84 This is a quotation from *Mathnavī*, Book IV, "Qiṣṣa-yi Banā-yi Masjid-i Aqṣā". This is a flawed and impaired quotation as Idrīs clearly copied it from a messy manuscript of *Mathnavī*. For a great edition and what is quoted here, one may refer to the excellent edition of Muḥammad 'Alī Muvahhid. See Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Balkhī, *Maṭnavī Ma'navī*, ed. M. 'A. Muvahhid, (Tehran: Farhangistān-i Zabān va Adab-i Fārsī & Hirmis, 2018), ii, 798.

85 A 'committed one' or *murīd* is a Sufi term meaning a novice committed to spiritual enlightenment by sulūk ('traversing a path') under a spiritual guide, who may take the title shaykh, murshid, or pīr. See Sajjādī, *Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥāt va Ta'birāt-i 'Irfānī*, 715-718.

86 This is a Sufi term, meaning people of generous, the people with loving heart, or the mystics.

87 Named variously as *maqbara*, *mazār*, and *ārāmghāh*, *buq'as* were the graves of Sufis and scholars, and religious places for pilgrims. This function of buq'a is based on a Qur'ānic allusion (28: 30), *al-buq'ati l-mubāraka*. See Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function, and Meaning* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 274; Habibollah Azimi, "Sufis' Centers as Scientific and Educational Institutions by Reference the Manuscripts Transcribed There", *Advanced in Historical Studies* 7 (2018): 163-178.

88 This stands for *awlīyā'*, the plural of *walī*. It comes from the root *al-walāya* which refers to a very exceptional rank given by God to His beloved servants. Sajjādī, *Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥāt va Ta'birāt-i 'Irfānī*, 156-158.

89 *al-Bayt al-Ma'mūr* is a Qur'ānic compound term (52: 4) which literally means 'the Much-Frequented House' or 'the Flourishing House'. It is an exact

replica of the Kaaba outside the realms of human existence. It is located directly above the Kaaba in the seventh heaven. See for instance Faḍl ibn Ḥasan Ṭabarsī, *Majma' al-Bayān fī Tafṣīr al-Qur'ān*, ed. Anonymous, (Tehran: Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 1993), i, 382; iv, 247.

90 *lisān al-ḥāl* also could be rendered as 'the language of the future'. These are the words which issue from the Knower or Lover when he is under the domination of his state. In reality, everything in the cosmos speaks with the tongue of its state. For more information, especially regarding the same term in Rūmī's *Maṭnavī*, see Naṣr Allāh Pūrjavādī, "Zabān-i Ḥāl dar *Mathnavī Ma'navī*", *Nashr-i Dānish* 98 (2000): 14-26.

91 For this *ḥadīth*, see for instance Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Bābūya Shaykh Ṣadūq, *al-Tawḥīd*. ed. Anonymous (Qum: Jāmi' a-yi Mudarrīsīn, 2009), 40.

92 This stands for *bayt-i ikrām* which is vague to me. It might be a reference to the Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Ṣakhra), an Islamic shrine at the center of the al-Aqṣā Mosque compound on the Temple Mount in the Old City of Jerusalem.

93 This is one more quotation from *Maṭnavī*. See Balkhī, *Mathnavī Ma'navī*, ii, 798.

94 Originally meaning 'mute' in Arabic, the word '*ajam*' was applied to those unable to speak Arabic properly,

ret is on lights and the surfaces of its lines⁹⁵ and books of its pillars⁹⁶ are all decorated and pleasant tiles with motifs. In the middle of the courtyard and the space of its building, and in all the pillars and the foundation, there are stones carved from mirrors. In the eyes of such a long base monument, the fountains are always bubbling and boiling from the mountain spring, which is like the spring of the sun. [There are] a house of gathering and a house of listening,⁹⁷ [and] another grave [which] is known as the house of Mawlavī.⁹⁸ Its surroundings include views and tall rooms. The niches outside it in spirit and purity are a representation of the assembly of spirits in the realm of holiness. Inside it is lit up by the candle of love and friendship, like the people

especially Persians.

- 95 This word is certainly derived from Qur'ān 68: 1, *nūn wa l-qalami wa mā yasturūna*. The Persian-Arabic form *yastān* may have a range of meanings depending on context, especially 'pen' and 'line' of a book.
- 96 I have translated the word *arkān* (*pl. of rukn*) into 'pillars' but it may be also a reference to the four primary substances (*arkān-i arba'a*) found in nature, that is fire, air, water and earth. As the basic building blocks, it is somewhat close to our context.
- 97 This is a rendering of *samā'*, the Sufi practice of listening to music and chanting to reinforce and induce mystical trance. Compare Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan Sonra Mevlevîlik* (İstanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 1953), 58ff.; Jamal J. Elias, "Mevlevi Sufis and the Representation of Emotion in the Arts of the Ottoman World", in *Emotion and Subjectivity in the Art and Architecture of Early Modern Muslim Empires*, ed. Kishwar Rizvi (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2017), 185-209; and Michael Frishkopf & Federico Spinetti (eds.), *Music, Sound, and Architecture in Islam* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018), 1-16, where the multiple relations between music and architecture in Muslim (including Ottoman) cultures is discussed.
- 98 This is a rendering of Persian *Mawlavî-khāna* on which the Turkish *Mevlevihane* is based. For this *Mevlevihane*, better known as Murādiye *Mevlevihanesi*, see A. Süheyl Ünver, "Edirne *Mevlevihanesi* Tarihine Giriş", *Anıt Dergisi* 30 (1962): 37-44; N. Çiçek Akçıl, "Günümüze Ulaşamayan Bir Tekke: Edirne'de Muradiye *Mevlevihanesi*", *Sanat Tarihi Yılığ* 21 (2009): 1-21. The building, whose date of construction is unknown, is thought to have been erected by Mimar Şehabettin during the reign of Murād II.

of truth. From all sides, the windows and its view are like nobles who have power of observation⁹⁹ watching over the city's scenery. In the rooms with the joy and beauty of breeze¹⁰⁰ and north wind,¹⁰¹ together with the brothers of purity and lords of loyalty, [they are] present in ecstasy and listening [sessions]. Verse: "O thou heart - kindling palace that art the dwelling of affection / O Lord ruined, let not the calamity of time make thee."¹⁰² Every Friday, a gathering is held in this house of listening, but [this gathering] indicates gatherings of the hair of beautiful ones [which] ultimately [lies] in communication and healing. With the guidance of "enter it in peace [and secure]",¹⁰³ there are instructions about dancing and listening to people of ecstasy and happiness in the assembly of people of perfection. In that gathering, for the people of the heart, the announcement¹⁰⁴ of confession is always [based on] the sound and song of "and recite the Qur'ān with measured recitation."¹⁰⁵ For the People of the Veranda¹⁰⁶ of

- 99 This stands for *ulu l-abşār*. It refers to the concept of observation from the Qur'ānic perspective (59: 2) which is not only seeing, looking or watching, but also paying full attention, supervising and thinking deeply about something.
- 100 This is a rendering of *bād-i şabā* which is a mythical wind in Persian literature that blows from the north-east and rejuvenates the nature. See Riccardo Zipoli, "Poetic Imagery", in *A History of Persian Literature I, General Introduction to Persian Literature*, ed. J. T. P. de Bruijn, (London & New York: I. B. Tauris, 2009), 198.
- 101 This stands for *bād-i şamāl*. See Zipoli, *ibid*.
- 102 A quotation from Ḥāfiẓ. *Ghazalḥā-yi Ḥāfiẓ*, ed. S. Niysārī, (Tehran: al-Hudā, 1992), 14.
- 103 Qur'ān 15: 46.
- 104 This stands for *adhān*, a special Islamic call to *şalāt* (prayer).
- 105 Qur'ān 73: 4.
- 106 *Aşhāb al-Şuffa* is a term, composed of the words *aşhāb* meaning "masters, friends" and *şuffa* meaning "veranda, shed, porch" in Arabic. The term is a generic name given to the Companions who stayed in the harbour next to the mosque of the Prophet in Medina after the Emigration and studied religious sciences there. See Dānishpazhūh, *Farhang-i Iştilāḥāt-i*

purity, there, the ear of sense is based on the lovely voice of “Give way! Give way! To Lord!”¹⁰⁷ Verse: “the palace of paradise, for the door guarding of which, Virtuous¹⁰⁸ went / is only a spectacle-place of the sward of pleasure of Dervishes.”¹⁰⁹ The sign of acceptance of this goodness and beneficence of the Sultan and the sign of the strength of the spirituality of the willing one and the willed one¹¹⁰ in that grave of monotheists is that due to the light of the love of Ḥaḍrat Mawlavī and the joyous blessings of the verses of the *Mathnavī*, a gathering always held in that grave during a special assembly and a gathering full of proper individuals at the time. The radiation of the lights of the realm of holiness shines on the seers from the inner of the people of condition¹¹¹ in that assembly. Because every Friday, in order to perform the obligatory congregational prayer, a whole group of the lords of perfection and a conversation of the companions of vision and

ʿIrfānī, 20.

- 107 I was unable to identify this quotation. There are, however, frequent references to the imperative verb *ṭarriqū* as a well-known Arabic phrase. It is used in Arabic and Persian literature to create an imperative sentence or verse that gives a command to the readers being addressed. See for instance Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār Niyshābūrī, *Dīvān*, ed. H. Farzīn, (Tehran: Jāvid, 1998), 65: *ṭarriqū yā ʿāshiqān kīn manzil-i jānān-i māst*.
- 108 This is a Qurʾānic name, Riḍwān, which has multiple meanings. See Muḥammad ibn Mukarram Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, ed. M. H. Zayd, (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr: 2002), xiv, 324.
- 109 For this quotation, see Ḥāfiẓ, *Ghazalḥā-yi Ḥāfiẓ*, 32.
- 110 These stand for *murīd* and *murād*, respectively. In Sufism, both terms are related to spiritual enlightenment by sulūk under a spiritual guide. A willing disciple (*murīd*) never relies on his or her own power, and is absolutely submitted to the Will of the All-Powerful, who holds all of creation in His Grasp. As for the one willed (*murād*), he or she overflows with love of God and never considers or aspires to anything other than obtaining His pleasure.
- 111 *ḥāl* (*pl. aḥwāl*) is a spiritual state of mind that comes to the Sufi from time to time during his journey toward God. See Sajjādī, *Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥāt va Taʿbīrāt-i ʿIrfānī*, 307-310.

beauty gathers in that sacred place of the home, which in the eyes of the mystics of the details of beauty, like a statue and an example of [this] authentic *ḥadīth*: “I saw God in the form of a young boy with curly hair [in a meadow]”,¹¹² will be clear and throughout. At the [same] moment, the impulse of ecstasy and listening from the mouth of flute and toot in that assembly of happiness and hymn, like a string of wrap of help and a permanent greeting of the extension of the Outbreathing of the Compassionate,¹¹³ is acceptable and connected to the ear of hearing. From the sound of frame drum¹¹⁴ and belled frame drum¹¹⁵ in that circle of the people of purity the songs of celestial circles is resolved and unconfined for the ear of the soul. In the state of expressing ecstasy in the circle and listening of the monotheists and the uproar of his mystics regarding the essence¹¹⁶ of [the meta-

- 112 This is a well-known *ḥadīth*, known as ‘Ikrimat, attributed to the Prophet. It is normally used as a Jahmī *ḥadīth* which was a pejorative term used by early Islamic scholars to refer to the followers of Jahm ibn Ṣafwān (d.746). For this *ḥadīth*, see Taqī al-Dīn Abu l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Ibn Taymīya, *Bayān Talbīs al-Jahmīya fī Taʿsīs Bidʿahum al-Kalāmīya*, ed. Y. M. Hindī et al. (Medina: Maktab al-Malik Fahad al-Waṭaniya, 2005), vii, 238.
- 113 *nafas-i raḥmānī* or *nafas-al-raḥmān* indicates the evanescent nature of existence in its state of constant change and renewal. Details in Sajjad H. Rizvi, “The Existential Breath of al-raḥmān and the Munificent Grace of al-raḥīm: The Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥa of Jāmī and the School of Ibn ʿArabī”, *Journal of Qurʾanic Studies* 8/1 (2006): 58-87.
- 114 This stands for *daf*, a large-sized frame drum which is designed with a head diameter greater than the depth of the shell of the drum.
- 115 *ʿarabāna* (also known as *ʿarabānī*, *arabūna*) is a kind of *dāʿira* which is a smaller frame drum. Within the hoop there are hanged things-slim and bells. See Biḥzād Naqīb Sardasht, *Sāzshināsī-yi Mūsīqī-yi Kurdī* (Tehran: Tavakoli, 2005), 309-312.
- 116 This is a rendering of *huwīyya* which is an abstract noun from the pronoun *huwa* (‘he’), and comes directly from the lexicon of philosophical learning. It is possible to translate it in a number of ways. What is referred to here is the essence of a thing, or its identity. See Sajjādī, *Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥāt va Taʿbīrāt-i ʿIrfānī*, 801.

physical nature of] God, for the bright inside, all the possessors are determined and seen. During the dance of the tall¹¹⁷ [personas] of beauty, there are pleasant effects in the eyes of the people of conscience in that sitting holy assembly for the tallness and handsomeness¹¹⁸ of the goodheight of the oneness *alif*.¹¹⁹ Every moment, during the conversation of friendship and the gathering of the knotted hair and the amber tresses of good ones of the listening circle, at every moment, the smelly fragrance of the breeze, with its problem-solver breath, has thrown out a smell like hyacinth, [that is] “indeed, breezes are blowing from your Lord throughout your life.”¹²⁰ In the circle and ecstasy of the dervishes,¹²¹ from the shirt of the offended ones,¹²² at every moment, the fiery sigh of the spark of joy came roaring out of the neck of the mouth with the Godless word¹²³ “there is no one but God inside my dress”¹²⁴ and has blown away the faith of the

faith of the truthful individuals.¹²⁵ [Verse] by its author [i.e. Idrīs]: “the beloved came dancing [while] his hair down / like Zephyr, I lost my faith in his dance.” In this grave, full and sufficient blessing have been arranged and prepared for listening and purity every morning and early night. For the city dweller, resident, traveler and passer-by, any table and large tray and bowls of colorful food are indefinite and helpful, in such a way that every day the sum of three thousand Ottoman *akçes*, which is equivalent to seven hundred and fifty silver dirhams, is spent on food supplies, permanent stew, the duties of the crew, and the rations of the scholars and the poor. Two hundred thousand dirhams of silver are used for the people who perform the duties of [this] grave, including the preacher, imam of the five times,¹²⁶ thirty reciters [of the Qur’ān], two identifier,¹²⁷ a teacher of the abode of orphans, a manager of *waqf*,¹²⁸ a sheikh, a supervisor, and other crew members and essential people, as sometimes when this stranger poor [i.e. Idrīs] was present in that grave and asked the trustee there about his special benefits, he confessed and explained that every day the equivalent of four hundred

117 Literally, having a body graceful as the cypress.

118 The ‘tallness and handsomeness’ stands for *rashaqāt*.

119 This is a technical term. The letter *alif* holds some dimensional meanings in Islamic mysticism, especially oneness, strength, and wisdom. Here, it symbolizes the oneness of God as well as His unity.

120 For this, see ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Hindī, *Kanz al-Ummāl fī Sunan al-Aqwāl wa l-Af’āl*, ed. M. ‘U. al-Dumyatī, (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīya, 1998), 2132. The use of this *hadīth* by Idrīs is interesting as Rūmī refers to the same *hadīth* in his *Mathnavī*. See *Balkhī, Mathnavī Ma’navī*, i, 127: *guft piyghāmbār ka nafhathā-yi haqq / andar īn ayyām mī ārad sabaq / gūsh u hush dārīd īn awqāt rā / darrubā’īd īn chunīn nafhāt rā*.

121 Literally, one who wears a rough cloth (*khirqā*). See Sajjādī, *Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥāt va Ta’bīrāt-i ‘Irfānī*, 345-350.

122 Literally, one whose chest has been ripped open due to an impact.

123 The ‘Godless word’ stands for *shaṭḥ* (*pl. shaṭḥīyāt*). In the mystical tradition of Sufism, a *shaṭḥ* is an ecstatic utterance in Sufi’s mystical state of fanā (passing away of the self). See Sajjādī, *Farhang-i Iṣṭilāḥāt va Ta’bīrāt-i ‘Irfānī*, 505.

124 This is a Sufi *shaṭḥ*, used frequently in Arabic and Persian mystical literature. See for instance, Kāmil Muṣṭafā al-Shaybī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Hallāj* (Köln: Manshūrāt al-Jumal, 2007), 32-33, 38-39, 59, 85, pas-

sim. What is given here is the words of Bāyazīd of Bisṭām (d.874), the Persian Sufi, and again it is interesting that Rūmī refers to the same *shaṭḥ*, with a similar verse vocabulary, in his *Mathnavī*. See *Balkhī, Mathnavī Ma’navī*, ii, 898: *nīst andar jubba’am illā khudā / chand jū’ī bar zamīn u bar samā’*?

125 This is a rendering of *ṣiddīqān* (*plural of ṣiddīq*) which is an Islamic term and is given as an honorific title to certain individuals.

126 This refers to the Muslim prayer times-five times a day.

127 This stands for *mu’arrif*. He was the one who placed people in their proper place in the court of sultans and emirs or promoted them from one position to another. See Muḥammad Pādīshāh, *Farhang-i Ānindirājī*, ed. M. Dabīr Sīyāqī, (Tehran: Khayyām, 1973), 289.

128 This stands for *mutawallī* which is an administrative or manager of a *waqf* institution. He is a person upon whom trust is reposed towards the fulfillment of the purpose of a *waqf*. See Munawar Hussain, “Mutawallī: The Manager of Waqf”, *Kashmir University Law Review* 17 (2010): 1-20.

akçes, which is one hundred dirhams of silver, reaches him for his managerial rights. Now, with this comparison and close estimation of God-conscious ones,¹²⁹ the source of *awqāf* and the use of its charity can be obtained. [Verse] by its author: “the great effort of that Sultan of religion / see [that merely] in this charitable grave / that all the kings of the kingdom of greatness / [should] learn the support of the poor from him.”

Conclusion

On the basis of the available evidence it can be argued that Murād II had a great passion for Rūmī. It is impossible to have any powerful emotion, such as love and joy, for someone without a corresponding obedience to his teachings and commands. As an enthusiast, then Murād II did as Rūmī had instructed and encouraged to try, for instance, toleration. If this reading is correct, we would be able to have a better understanding of Murād II's support for the Christians and that this might be something more than his own personality. In other words, his toleration is not a characteristic only but also a passion for the teachings of Rūmī on which the fullness of human persons (including the Christians) is built and realized.

The study of present *Hasht Bihisht* VI evidence can be extended a little further to reveal a more serious link between Murād II and Rūmī. From what is given here, it can be deduced that Murād II has also made a practical commitment to Rūmī. Not only he had a kind of devotion to Rūmī, but to honor and spread his teachings, he has also built mosques and institutional charity places for his followers. Many details are still vague surrounding the Sufi trends of Murād

129 This is a Qur'ānic word, the plural of *muttaqī*. *He/she* is a person who has *taqwā*, one who lives in awe of God's majesty, fears His wrath, and is fully conscious of the evil consequences of sin.

II. However, according to what has been mentioned here, it can be concluded that he was not careless and disbelieving towards Mawlavīyya. It may even be said that he himself was probably among the disciples of Mawlavīyya.

We may conjecture that Mawlavīyya, especially in Edirne, took advantage of the kindness of the empire under Murād II to consolidate and expand their Sufi power and influence. Mawlavīyya was certainly an important Sufi order, but it was probably Murād II's huge financial support, as mentioned here, and his charities that helped Mawlavīyya to gain access to welfare benefits, grants, and possible political services. For the classical scholar, for Idrīs, this financial privilege was of prime importance.

It is hardly possible, of course, to enter the mind of Murād II, but he probably realized that some sort of collaboration with the Mawlavī Sufis was needed to secure and maintain his cultural influence and rule on the Byzantine borders.

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